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Senate

The Senate met at 10:30 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Today's prayer will be offered by our guest Chaplain, the Reverend C. Edward Pruitt, Burke United Methodist Church, Burke, VA. Dr. Pruitt, we are pleased to have you with us.

PRAYER

The guest Chaplain, Rev. Dr. C. Edward Pruitt, Burke United Methodist Church, Burke, VA, offered the following prayer:

God of all creation. Who has made of one blood all the nations of the world to dwell on this Earth, help us to live as brothers and sisters. May we have love, compassion, and concern for one another knowing that when one of us suffers, we all suffer.

On this day, O God, we pray for the peacemakers of our world as they fly from Washington to the Middle East, from the United Nations to Bosnia, and to all parts of our war-torn world. They carry with them their briefcases and a deep desire for peace among the peoples of the Earth. Hear our prayer for these peacekeepers and leaders who long for peace but don't yet know how to find that peace. Give them Your guidance, Your wisdom, and commitment. O God.

And now we ask Your special blessings and guidance upon the Members of this Senate body as they seek Your will for America and the world. In their deliberations, give them hospitality, friendliness, and humor, and may what they say and do on this day make a real difference in our world.

Bring life to our spirits and a sense of joy to our living. May Your will be done in our lives, our country, and our world. We pray in humbleness and thanksgiving. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able acting majority leader is recognized.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Virginia for a brief comment relative to the opening pray-

Mr. WARNER. I thank the leader.

THE GUEST CHAPLAIN

Mr. WARNER, Mr. President, it is my privilege to recognize this morning the Reverend C. Edward Pruitt as our guest Chaplain for today. We particularly welcome his words of assurance to give strength to all of us in the discharge of our duties.

Reverend Pruitt serves as the pastor of the Burke United Methodist Church in the Commonwealth of Virginia. He has been in that post for 3 years and has ministered to the people of Virginia and Maryland for the past 30 years in his distinguished career. A graduate from the Wesley Theological Seminary here in Washington, Reverend Pruitt has a very unique back-

If one detected a slight accent in the Reverend Pruitt's words this morning, it might be because he grew up as a waterman's son—that's a fisherman's son-on the small island named Tangier in the middle of the Chesapeake Bay. Here the islanders still speak with great pride with a lingering trace of the Elizabethan English dialog, reflecting the historic settlement of that island by the English Captain John Smith in 1608.

I do not know how many of my colleagues know that Tangier Island in Virginia exists, but it does. I have been privileged to be there many times. It is noted for one other thing: There is not a single automobile for transportation.

Again, we welcome Reverend Pruitt, and the Senate is particularly grateful to Bill Hoagland, chief of staff to the Republican Senate side of the Budget Committee for bringing to the attention of the President pro tempore and the leadership the availability of this distinguished pastor.

Thank you. I yield the floor.

SCHEDULE

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, this morning, the Senate will be in a period for morning business until 12:30 p.m. At 12:30 p.m., the Senate will recess for the policy luncheons to meet until 2:15 p.m. When the Senate reconvenes at 2:15 p.m., the Senate will proceed to a cloture vote on the paycheck protection amendment currently pending to S. 25, the campaign finance reform bill. If cloture is not invoked on the amendment, the Senate will proceed to a cloture vote on the campaign finance reform bill itself. If cloture is not invoked on the bill, the Senate could resume the D.C. appropriations bill for the consideration of the remaining issues to that appropriations matter. A cloture vote is scheduled for tomorrow on the pending Mack-Graham amendment to the District of Columbia appropriations bill if that issue is not resolved.

Also, as announced, the Senate may turn to any appropriations conference reports that become available. Therefore, additional votes will occur following the 2:15 p.m. vote during today's session of the Senate. I yield the floor.

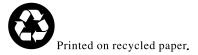
MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROB-ERTS). Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business, with the Democratic leader having 45 minutes under his control.

The distinguished Democratic leader is recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, thank you for the recognition.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, let me begin by simply commenting on the interesting juxtaposition this body finds itself in this morning.

Less than 500 yards from here, the Governmental Affairs Committee is holding a hearing—another hearing dealing with questions relating to campaign finance in the last Presidential campaign cycle. There seems to be an extraordinary degree of enthusiasm for pursuing every facet of that particular exercise, and I understand the enthusiasm because, obviously, it reflects in a very negative way upon many in the Democratic Party. There has been an effort to direct the committee's attention to similar allegations regarding Republican activities, but the Democrats have largely been denied an opportunity to demonstrate any balance. In fact, with all of the hearings held thus far, I am quite sure there have only been 3 days out of all of those hearings held that the committee has spent analyzing, considering allegations regarding Republican activity. So while 90 percent of the attention is centered on Democrats and less than 10 percent on Republicans, the investigation goes on.

The real question is, Where will this take us? And that leads me to this comment on juxtaposition. I wouldn't be surprised if on the cloture vote this afternoon, virtually every member of the Republican Governmental Affairs Committee will vote against cloture on the bill, will vote not to come to some termination of this charade that we have called debate for the last 14 days.

It was on September 19 that the majority leader came to the floor, surprising virtually all of us and asking unanimous consent to go to the campaign finance reform legislation. Not having had an opportunity to consult with my colleagues, we had a temporary delay in agreeing to that proposal. But during that discussion, the majority leader made it very clear:

We want to do it in a time when it can be fully debated. I think it is important that we have a chance to look at different proposals and see if a consensus can be reached. . . . So, we fully intend to have notification of the date and an adequate discussion of all sides of the issue. . . .

. . . we will have a full panoply of options to make sure we have it brought up at the right time and we can have a full debate and look at all the other things we need to consider.

Comments made by the majority leader on September 19.

Mr. President, that was over 2 weeks ago. Everyone can recall what has happened since then. The bill was immediately laid down. The majority leader, as is his right, proceeded to fill the parliamentary tree. By that, I mean adding, 8 or 10 amendments to the bill to preclude Democrats from offering any amendments to the McCain-Feingold bill. He did not offer just any amendment. He introduced this Lott amendment, the bill, S. 9, kill the bill—which at least he was very up front about. He

is quoted in the Wall Street Journal on the 26th of September saying:

I set it up so they will be filibustering me. He was quoted in the Washington Times on the same day:

I presume the Democrats are going to filibuster what we laid out. I set it up so they are going to do the filibustering, not the Republicans.

So, Mr. President, his motives were pretty clear. He laid it out very well. So there shouldn't be any doubt what this is about. This isn't a discussion about whether or not the proposal is a good idea. We have already suggested, proposed that if it is a good idea, let's extend it to all organizations, let's extend it to corporations, let's extend it to all membership organizations that involve themselves in elections. If you pay dues, you ought to have the opportunity to say how those dues are spent. That is the Republican argument. Well, if it is good for unions, it ought to be good for corporations; it ought to be good for the Chamber: it ought to be good for every other organization.

Interesting enough, the Right to Work Committee, no bastion of support for labor unions, is quoted in the Washington Post:

The Right to Work Committee says it is opposed to any union provisions being included in the campaign finance overhaul.

Even the Right to Work Committee opposes adding the Lott amendment to the campaign finance reform bill.

So we are not fooling anybody here, Mr. President. We have offered, as I noted a moment ago, to take S. 9 separately; no filibuster. Let's have a good debate about whether it makes sense. Let's have amendments, and then let's vote up or down. We have offered that. That hasn't been accepted. Why? Well, the majority leader has made it very clear why. That's too easy. He wants to set up a situation that requires a Democratic filibuster.

So this is a poison pill, Mr. President—a poison pill. Why would Democrats oppose cloture on the amendment? Because if cloture is invoked on the amendment, by the very nature of cloture, all other amendments that are nongermane to that particular amendment falls. Could we add corporations? No. Could we add any other organization? No. So everybody ought to understand what this is all about. The majority leader does not want an up-ordown vote on his amendment. He doesn't want an up-or-down vote on campaign finance reform.

So we find ourselves in an interesting situation. We could table the amendment. I believe the votes are now here for the Senate to table the Lott amendment, but it is increasingly unlikely that we will have an opportunity to table the amendment this afternoon.

I am very disappointed with the way this whole matter has been handled from the very beginning in laying down the unanimous-consent request. When the majority leader attained his position, he and I had what I thought was an understanding: There would be no surprises. Well, you can imagine my shock at the surprise a few weeks ago, that is, on September 19, at this unanimous consent request, considering our understanding.

Yesterday, we filed a cloture motion to ensure that there will be another vote on reform, at least tomorrow. What I didn't know is that the majority leader took us out of debate on the campaign finance reform bill in order to preclude a tabling motion yesterday. That was surprise No. 2. So this debate has been filled with surprises. I am surprised, given what he said on September 19 about the full panoply of options, that we have no options at all. We have the option of voting for cloture.

If all this is confusing, it really boils down to something very simple: Do you support meaningful campaign finance reform? Do you or not? If you do, you will press the majority leader for a tabling motion on his amendment. If you do, you will vote for cloture this afternoon on the McCain-Feingold bill. So there shouldn't be any confusion at all about what this is about, about what the motivations are or about the circumstances in which we find ourselves this morning.

The bottom line is, the vast majority of Republicans are refusing to allow this Senate to act on one of the most important pieces of legislation to be brought up in this Senate in this Congress. That is the fact. And how ironic that as we investigate infractions, as we investigate allegations, the response is simply: Let's do nothing; let's filibuster the campaign finance reform bill; let's load up the tree so we can't have a debate on amendments.

We all understand it. The American people understand it too, Mr. President. Sooner or later we will have our day. It is the old lose the battle, win the war metaphor that keeps coming back. We may lose cloture today, we may not get our tabling motion today, but we are going to get some votes. If it is all we do for the rest of this Congress, we are going to get some votes.

Others have come to the floor to seek recognition. I yield the floor.

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized. Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I appreciate the comments of the Senator from South Dakota. I rise to support his comments.

Mr. President, there is a wonderful cemetery in a little town called Medora, ND, on the edge of the Bad Lands in western North Dakota. The cemetery has very unusual tombstones in it because they did not always know the names of the people who died when they tried a century later to identify the remains in the cemetery. So they took an oral history of the old folks living around there and did the best they could.

So if you visit that little cemetery, you will see tombstones that say, on one "Baby From The Hotel." They did